

THE RESISTANCE OF THE PEGAYAMAN ISLAMIC COMMUNITY AGAINST STIGMA AND IDENTITY RETENTION STRATEGIES IN BULELENG REGENCY

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ABSTRACT

The issue of disharmony and conflict based on differences in culture, religion, history, and ethnicity still often arises in Indonesia, including in Bali. One of the related phenomena is the stigmatization of the Islamic community in Pegayaman Village which causes various forms of violence, both physical and symbolic. The aims of this study are 1) to understand the reasons underlying the emergence of stigmatization; 2) describe the forms of stigma, and 3) examine strategies for resistance to stigma and maintaining the identity of the Pegayaman Islamic Community in Buleleng Regency. Data was collected using in-depth interviews, observation, document studies, and focus group discussions. Data analysis used a critical interpretation approach with the stages of reduction, presentation, drawing conclusions and verification. This study finds that the reasons underlying the stigmatization of the Pegayaman Islamic Community include, (a) historical experience factors, (b) religious ideology, and ethnicity, (c) construction of reality for various interests, and (d), self-reflexivity, 'we' and 'them'. Forms of stigma include, (a) labeling, (b) stereotypes, (c) separation; and (d) discrimination. The resistance and identity defense strategies that have been carried out include (a) direct and open strategies through demonstrations, dialogue with the bureaucracy, politicians, media, and regulation of interfaith marriage restrictions, as well as (b) strategies to improve the quality of life of community members through hard work, status improvement economics, children's education, instilling Islamic values from an early age, and building cooperation in social, religious, and economic activities. This strategy is effective in minimizing the stigma of society towards the Pegayaman Islamic Community.

Keywords : Identity, Islamic community of Pegayaman, resistance, strategy, stigma

INTRODUCTION

The articulation of the identity of religious groups is still a serious problem for the Indonesian people today. The data shows that the relationship between religious believers in Indonesia has not yet fully reached the ideal condition, namely a religious life that is tolerant, harmonious, and peaceful [1]. Bali also has its own challenges in building a truly

ideal religious life. Although the majority of the population is Hindu, in Bali there are also other religious groups mingling in an area. Historically, the relationship between Hindus and other religious communities in Bali has been established since the kingdom era, mainly through political, social, and economic processes [2]. One of them is the Muslim community who has lived in Bali since the time of the Buleleng kingdom, known as the Pegayaman Islamic community, Sukasada District, Buleleng Regency. A number of researchers say that the ancestors of the Muslim community in Pegayaman were soldiers from outside Bali, especially from Java and Bugis during the reign of Ki Barak Panji Sakti [3][4]. They get a prize for inhabiting the area and carrying out the teachings of the Islamic religion that had been embraced before.

Over time, the number of the Pegayaman Islamic Community increased and they still maintained their religious identity. In addition to historical and political factors, namely patronage relations with the Buleleng kingdom, the survival of the Pegayaman Islamic Community is also due to their ability to develop adaptation strategies with the majority of the Balinese Hinduism community [5]. However, the post-independence socio-political dynamics caused the relationship between Muslims in Pegayaman and Hindus to begin to crack. The involvement of the Pegayaman youth in the crackdown on groups suspected of being PKI participants in the 1965 30s/PKI tragedy through the *Banser* movement, and the Bali bombings I and II that carried religious ideologies disrupted the previously established harmonious Hindu-Muslim relationship [6]. In addition, the involvement of the Pegayaman Islamic Community in several criminal events has begun to be capitalized to build a stigma against their existence. Based on this background, this research focuses on three research problems, as follows: (1) why does negative stigmatization appear on the Pegayaman Islamic Community in Buleleng regency; (2) what is the form of the construction of stigma against the Pegayaman Islamic Community in Buleleng regency; and (3) what is the resistance to stigma and strategies for maintaining the identity of the Pegayaman Islamic Community in Buleleng regency?

METHODS AND PROCEDURES

This study aims to reveal the phenomenon of resistance to stigma and strategies for maintaining the identity of the Pegayaman Islamic Community in Buleleng regency in relation to Hindus. Therefore, this research was designed within the framework of a qualitative research methodology with a critical social approach as applied in the culture studies tradition. This approach views that socio-religious phenomena that appear on the surface actually contain various ideologies that operate in social practices [7]. Therefore,

this study uses the basis of stigma theory (goffman), identity theory (erikson), and cultural adaptation theory (sanderson) to reveal the various ideologies hidden in the stigmatization of the Pegayaman Islamic Community, as well as resistance and defense of their identity in the midst of society. Plural society in Buleleng regency. In this study, the researcher was directly involved as the main actor who was supported by other supporting instruments in the form of interview guides and data recording and documenting devices. The data collection procedure was carried out by means of observation, interviews, documentation studies, and focus group discussions (focus group discussin). Data analysis was carried out through three stages, namely data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions or verification [8]. The process of data analysis was carried out with a critical interpretive approach. These three stages are carried out simultaneously during the research process taking into account the context so that all data obtained can be accounted for for validity, reliability, and transferability.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. the Reasons Underlying The Stigmatization Of The Islamic Community Of Pegayaman

The Pegayaman Islamic Society Was An Immigrant Community When The Buleleng Kingdom Was Ruled By Ki Barak Panji Sakti. Studies On The History Of The Formation Of The Pegayaman Islamic Community Conducted By Several Researchers Show That The Pegayaman Islamic Community Has Served The Buleleng Kingdom So That They Were Given A Gift By Ki Barak Panji Sakti To Occupy The Village Area Where They Are Currently Living. This Historical Fact Also Marks The Formation Of A Patron And Client Relationship Between The Pegayaman Islamic Community And The Buleleng Kingdom. The Patron-Client Relationship Which Was Built Through The Subsistence Ethic[9], Became The Dominant Ideology That Perpetuated The King's Power As A Patron Because Of His Ability To Provide Religious Social Protection To The People (Clients). The Change In The Political System From Work To Republican Has Removed Some And Even All Of The Patron's Legitimacy, Except For Symbolic Values. The Implication Is That The Pegayaman Islamic Community No Longer Gets Subsistence Protection From Patrons, Both In Terms Of Economy And Religion. The Weakening Of The Patron-Client System Resulted In The Weakening Of The Economic Resources Of The Pegayaman Islamic Community Because The King Did Not Provide Subsistence Support. This Encourages The Emergence Of Criminal Behaviour From Some Pegayaman Villages Due To Economic Pressure. The Accumulation Of Criminal Events

By Perpetrators From The Same Area, Finally Builds The Stigma That 'Pegayaman Is A Criminal Village'. This Stigmatization Is Driven By The Affirmation Of Cultural Identity That Positions The Pegayaman Islamic Community As The 'Other', Through This Stigma.

Closely related to historical experiences that have led to the emergence of stigma against the Pegayaman Islamic community cannot be separated from the development of ethnic and religious sentiments, especially since the first and second Bali Bombings. The religious issue brought up by the terrorist group Amrozy, et al., in the tragedy has proven to have clouded the harmonious relationship between the Balinese (Hindu) and Islam [10]. The strengthening of religious sentiments and ethnicity after the Bali I and II bombings was marked by the response of the Balinese people through the discourse on the Permanent Bali [11]. The Islamic community of Pegayaman, which has long been stigmatized or stereotyped as criminals, thieves, robbers, and murderers, is finally considered to be affiliated with terrorists [12]. On the other hand, the Pegayaman Islamic Community also actually has to face the stigmatization of mainstream Islamic groups who think they are not yet a true Muslim, because they still adopt Balinese culture in their religion. This means that the Pegayaman Islamic Community has experienced complex stigmatization in the context of religious ideology and ethnicity. Considering that stigmatization is not only constructed by other religious groups, but also from fellow Muslims themselves.

The stigmatization aimed at the Pegayaman Islamic Community is partly based on natural realities, such as several criminal incidents that have been proven to have been committed by Pegayaman villages. These criminal behaviour are perceived by society, and then categorized as moral objects to be analyzed in relation to norms. The results of this analysis are integrated within a person and build a perception that the behaviour's is contrary to the norms prevailing in society so that it deserves to be stigmatized. The repetition of behaviour's encourages the emergence of stigma attached to a community, including the stigma of Pegayaman as a criminal village. This inherent stigma is also used by other parties to construct a similar reality with various interests. This stigma is reproduced continuously in various criminal events by constructing a criminal discourse associated with Pegayaman villages, even though the perpetrators are not Pegayaman villages. In other words, the stigmatization of the Pegayaman Islamic Community is maintained through disciplining perceptions in various matters relating to criminality.

Stigma always presents a dichotomous position between the stigmatized and those who are stigmatized as a condition that is continuously maintained in social discourse and practice. This is closely related to the concept of identity maturity which

requires every individual and/or cultural group to reflect on his or her identity in the midst of society. However, the concept of identity maturity often creates a crisis in self-narration. This crisis is indicated by the narrative of selfhood which is almost always constructed in a 'versus' scheme, negative vs positive, isolation vs integration, bound vs autonomous, fundamental suspicion vs fundamental belief, bound vs autonomous, and so on [13]. Failure to fully reflect the self-worth of 'identity' with the dominant culture makes the Islamic community of Pegayaman still seen as an 'immigrant' community which is distinguished from the original 'Bali-Hindu' population. This dichotomy is emphasized by the structural performance that does not accommodate the Pegayaman customary system as part of the Balinese customary system. This positioning encourages the construction of 'original-migrants' in various cultural discourses, in which the indigenous people tend to maintain their narrative of being the rightful owner of Balinese culture. On the other hand, the negative image of 'immigrants' tends to be capitalized for self-positioning so that stigmatization is part of the way to affirm the identities of 'we' and 'them'.

B. Stigma Construction Forms Against the Islamic Community of Pegayaman

Stigma is a bad judgment given to individuals and/or groups based on certain signs or attributes. These signs are considered as expressions of impropriety and bad moral status owned by a person and/or group [14]. However, stigmatized individuals and/or groups are not always people who behave badly, but are judged badly by the community and the surrounding environment. According to Link and Phelan [15], stigma is constructed in label, stereotyping, separation, and discrimination. That is, stigma is not born naturally, but is constructed socio-culturally through the detection, definition, and assessment of actors (agents), as well as dominant society (structure).

Labelling words, or stereotyping is based on certain signs that are different in society. According to Becker [16]. Being Label depends on the process of detection, definition, and public response to deviant behaviour. The assessment of the primary deviation opens space for the public to understand the reasons behind each individual deviant behaviour, for example the behaviour of stealing due to poverty. However, when cases of theft occur repeatedly involving villages of the same community and cause problems in the community (trouble makers), the reasons behind this behaviour tend to be ignored by the community. Therefore, the label as a 'thief' is a response that is definitely given by the community based on an assessment of the repetition of deviant behaviour carried out by Pegayaman villages. When compared to other labels, the labelling as a 'thief' is dominantly attached to the Pegayaman Islamic Community based on the

community's assessment of deviant behaviours that are detected and defined in various social realities that repeat from time to time.

Labelling refers to deviant behaviour in the form of violation of norms 'ever' committed by a person or certain social group. When the stigmatization sees general tendencies in people who are labeled deviant, then the labeling is applied to all people or groups who have these characteristics, whether detected, defined, valued, or not. This mechanism is called a stereotype, which is a framework of thinking or cognitive aspects consisting of knowledge and beliefs about certain social groups and traits. Stereotype are beliefs about personal characteristics or attributes that people in a certain social group or category have [17]. The stereotype of 'the village of thieve's' is a form of stigma attached to the Pegayaman Islamic Community. This stereotype is embedded in the cognitive structure of society and forms a massive assessment of the Pegayaman Islamic Community. This stereotype shows the expansion of individual stigma into public stigma, both those formed by the dominant culture by making legal and moral norms the basis for stereotyping and repetition of behaviours carried out by the Pegayaman Islamic Community. Media framing also plays an important role in the formation of these stereotype's which further worsen the image of the Pegayaman Islamic Community in society.

Separation is the separation between 'us' (as a party who does not have a stigma) and "them" (as a stigmatized party). Stereotyped relations with negative attributes will become a reality, when the stigmatized party continues to maintain its stigma against the other group, while the stigmatized group feels that the stereotype attached to them is true, at least, to a certain extent [18]. This condition widens the social distance between the stigmatized party and the stigmatized party which in the wider social world is marked by the separation between subcultural groups and the dominant culture. People who support the dominant culture who are positioned as parties to the stigmatization have a tendency to judge subordinate groups through prejudice and images that are formed, which are also maintained in the practice of discourse. On the other hand, the subordinate group will try to improve its self-conception through various more autonomous cultural strategies. The two processes simultaneously, actually encourage the separation between the Islamic community of Pegayaman (stigma) and the stigmatized group.

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Discrimination is the intentional difference in treatment of certain groups or interest groups. In discrimination, a certain group is treated differently from other groups. The distinction can be based on positions of opposition, such as majority and minority. According to Fulthoni, et al. [19], the essence of discrimination is the difference in treatment. Discrimination refers to unfair and unequal treatment to distinguish a person or group based on categorization or distinctive attributes. Discriminatory treatment of the Pegayaman Islamic community in accessing jobs in Balinese-owned companies seems to be related to the built-up stereotype. These stereotypes mark the cracks in the identity of Pegayaman villages in their interactions with the wider social environment, such as the world of work. Wider discrimination is felt by the Pegayaman Islamic Community in the context of the bureaucracy, especially the lack of village funds they manage, when compared to other villages. Although this discrimination is not directly related to the stigma of a 'thief village' that has been attached to them so far, it is at least due to weak political bargaining. Either directly or indirectly, the Pegayaman Islamic Community has experienced minorities in various aspects of their lives, especially in their position as an immigrant community, Muslim majority, political bargaining, and strengthened by the stigmas attached to them.

C. Resistance to Stigma and Identity Defense Strategies

The various forms of stigma received by the pegayaman islamic community encourage them to carry out resistance, as well as strategies to maintain identity. Resistance to stigma is carried out to remove the stigma that has already been attached to them. Meanwhile, the identity defense strategy is carried out as an effort to maintain cultural and religious values. These two aspects take place simultaneously, resistance is carried out to remove various negative stigma, as well as being a medium for cultural negotiations in the context of maintaining religious and cultural identity. In this regard, resistance to stigma and strategies for maintaining the identity of the pegayaman islamic community are carried out directly and indirectly.

First, a direct and open strategy is carried out against various stigmas attached to them, especially by constructing a positive self-image. One of them is through demonstrations, in particular to prevent criminal reporting that discredits pegayaman village, such as when there are criminals who claim to be from pegayaman, but are not. This resistance is closely related to the stigmatization constructed by outside actors for various interests. Resistance to stigma is also carried out through dialogue with bureaucrats and politicians as part of their efforts to clear the name of the pegayaman islamic community from various negative stigmas so far. These dialogues were also conducted to minimize government discrimination in village development. The mass media is also optimized to carry out resistance by displaying a positive image of the pegayaman islamic community as a seasonal community in the midst of the hindu majority who are always able to maintain harmony and tolerance of religious communities. Next, direct resistance is also carried out through the creation of customary norms in limiting interfaith marriages that pegayaman village who change religions do not get any rights in the village, even just visiting their own families.

Second, an indirect strategy that is internal is carried out by improving the quality of life of the pegayaman villages so that they are no longer trapped in criminal behaviour. One of them is by motivating its citizens to always work hard so as to improve the economic status of the family. The pegayaman islamic society also encourages children's education because education is seen as the only way so that the stigma against pegayaman villages can be removed. Strengthening the personality aspect to avoid deviant behaviours is also done by instilling islamic values from an early age. It is evident that the majority of pegayaman villages choose to send their children to religious schools or enroll them in islamic boarding schools, both in java and lombok. In its social context, pegayaman villages are also active in building cooperation with the surrounding community, both in social, religious, and economic activities.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the stigmatization of the Islamic community in Pegayaman arises due to historical experiences, religious ideologies and discourses as well as ethnicity, the construction of reality for various interests, and the reflexivity of the 'us' ('kekitaan') vs. 'oneness' self. Stigma appears in the form of labelling, stereotyping, segregation, and discrimination. Resistance to stigma and identity defend strategies carried out by the Pegayaman Islamic Community are carried out directly and indirectly. This strategy is quite effective because it is gradually able to minimize the stigma of

society towards the Pegayaman Islamic Community, while at the same time maintaining its cultural and religious identity.

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